

# BACAVI

JOURNEY TO REED SPRINGS

BY PETER WHITELEY

Foreword by Leigh Jenkins Honheptewa

FRONTISPICE: Chief Kewaninpiwua, Bacavi, 1939. Painting by E. Comins.  
Courtesy Steven Jett, Dept. of Geography, University of California, Davis.

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quate, and still others for want of room enough and time. In spite of such shortcomings, there is a story here that, I believe, demands to be told.

One day, while staying in Bacavi, I was present at an encounter between an elderly Hopi man and woman. It was the first time they had seen each other for some years and they took much pleasure from this chance meeting (in the Hopi way, she was his aunt). After a while, for my benefit, they switched from speaking Hopi to English. The man told the story of an event in Bacavi's early years. The lady smiled inwardly at a few points in the story. When he had finished, she lifted her head and said, "Well, that's the way they tell it. We don't know if it actually happened that way, or if they made a story out of it—to remember it by." She was recognizing the way in which events are inscribed and remembered in Hopi oral tradition. Certain details are chosen and put together in such a way as to make a memorable narrative flow from them.

I can think of no better way of stating my aims here. By choosing some scattered details of history glimmering through the various lenses by which they were recorded, I have tried to "make a story out of it—to remember it by." This is a Hopi perspective. Perhaps, after all is said and done, no other histories are any different.

## The Name

*Bacavi*, more properly *baagavi*, literally means "reeds." The species referred to is a tall grass known in the Southwest as "bamboo" (*Phragmites communis*). The village of Bacavi takes its name from this plant. In the past, many reeds grew around the staircase of springs that flow from the canyon slope below the village. Bacavi was the place-name for the springs before the founding of the village. Later, when the village was settled on the mesa top, it took the name of the springs below.

In Hopi, *-vi* at the end of a word usually signifies "place" and often refers to a village—Shongopavi, Mishongnovi, Sichomovi, Oraibi. So, in time, the name Bacavi took on a fuller meaning than simply "reeds." It came to imply "Reed Springs Village," a noble enough title for a full-fledged Hopi village. More than this, the name was deliberated upon and formally accepted by the leaders at the founding of the village. So it was that the settlement came to be Bacavi.

A name is important in Hopi. It gives an identity. Whether it be for a person or a place, a name often resonates with the meanings of a rich mythology and history. So *baagavi* are not simply "reeds" in Hopi. There is a Reed clan. Reed was the plant through which mankind climbed into the

present world from the world below. Reed boats are told of in mythology and portrayed in certain ceremonies. Reed is the stem for the sacred tobacco pipe. And so on. This is not to say that all these associations occur in the minds of Hopis when they think of the name Bacavi. But the associations provide a family of related ideas, and it is these that give Bacavi a richness and depth of meaning that is distinctively Hopi.

## The Place

Bacavi rests on the eastern edge of Third Mesa at the head of a canyon leading into the Oraibi Valley. The three Hopi Mesas extend southwestward like splayed fingers of a hand for which Black Mesa is the back. Close to the fingertips, above the wash-cut valleys between them, lie the several Hopi villages. This is plateau country. Bacavi lies at 6,300 feet above sea level.

A place, any place, means different things to different people. To the average tourist wandering through, Hopi is an enchanted land, with "mystical" people who perform strangely attractive though definitely "primitive" (whatever this may mean) ceremonies, in a spectacular landscape of mesas and deserts under the romantic Arizona sky. Hopi villages are picturesque. The people in them somehow animate those dioramas of Indians in the museums back home. They are living relics who are "neat" to look at and imagine about; but one mustn't get too close or stay too long.

The Hopis, of course, do not think of themselves in quite the same way. Just how they think of themselves is not for me to say. But they do not consider themselves abnormally mystical, they are not too impressed with the museums they have seen (which they regard as having stolen some of their cultural heritage) and the sky under which they conduct complex sacred dramas is neither romantic nor is it even in Arizona—a foreigner's designation; it is just there. Furthermore, the often uncouth, ill-behaved, and tasteless visitors who come to learn all about the Hopis in an hour and a half cannot really be taken seriously as responsible adult human beings, although they may be good for a dollar or two in exchange for some crafts.

Like any other Hopi village, Bacavi is witness to some of these views—both those from without and those from within. But within Hopi perspectives, Bacavi has its own distinctions. For the younger generation it is "Sleepy Hollow," a small town where there is little action even on a Saturday night. But to the oldest generation of Bacavi people, the village is a sanctuary, the place of refuge where their parents came to escape the trouble and strife of Old Oraibi. It is a place they built from scratch with their

Chief Tawaquapewa had many of his followers, both men and women, present and they stated that they did not desire these returned Hostiles to remain in the village. The delegation said they were sure the Friendlies would undertake to drive them out of the village because there was to be a ceremony for the initiation of some of the young men (Miller 10-30-1909).

In the succeeding days, disputes worsened and Missionary Epp urged Superintendent Miller's presence at Oraibi.

The time to interfere on the part of the Government authority is now! In about two weeks, the Chief's brother, Bert Fredericks, will return to Oraibi, and then *something is to be done! But the bomb may burst any day!* (Epp 11-1-1909).

Epp fled to Moencopi on November 5 in fear of his life.

Miller arrived at Oraibi on November 4 and stayed for several days. Kewanimpewa and Sikyavehema borrowed Miller's buggy and traveled over the countryside examining locations for a new village. First they went south to Kyeptomovi, "Box-Thorn Hills Place," a fertile area fed by the Polacca and Wepo washes between Dilkon and Leupp, but there was not enough wood. Next they tried Nukushnoki, "Crooked Piñon Tree," near Hard Rocks, but there was insufficient water as well as danger from the nearby Navajos. Some say they also tried the old village site of Sikyaki near Polacca, but it was thought First Mesa people would not approve. Then they thought of some ruins near Höwiipa, "Dove Springs," not far from Hotevilla. Finally they came to Bacavi, "Reed Springs," and looked at an area on the mesa top overlooking the Springs. There was plenty of water and plenty of wood. Moreover, they would be close to Hotevilla, where they had many relatives. The site had ample flat ground for a large, square *kitovvi*, "plaza," a highly desirable feature.

So Bacavi was chosen as the site. On November 8, Kewanimpewa and Sikyavehema took Miller to show him the spot they had selected.

I found it to be a very desirable site for a village because of the bountiful supply of good, pure water (Miller 11-12-1909).

Immediately the Hostiles in Oraibi began to quarry rock for the new village. Kewanimpewa discussed their needs with Miller.

Kewanimpewa gave me 32 beans representing the number of children of their faction now attending the Oraibi school, and asked that I recommend the establishment of a school at Bă-că-bi (this being the name of the spring where their new village is to be located) (Miller 11-12-1909).

Kewanimpewa also persuaded Miller to have lands allotted in the area as soon as possible (the allotment program had been resumed in February 1908), and to furnish doors, windows, and other materials to build the new village. Several men began building shelters at Bacavi in mid-November. But before they could get much done, there was another flare-up in Oraibi.

Tawaquapewa and Kewanimpewa publicly confronted each other.

So early one morning, around the time the rooster crows, Kewanimpewa went up to the Bear clan house where Tawaquapewa lived and they faced off, saying, "Let us fight and we will see which one of us will die" (translated from the Hopi).

The two leaders had plotted the fight secretly beforehand. They needed to demonstrate the necessity of immediate separation to their people with a powerful display. Although the Hostiles were preparing to move out, many were reluctant to go through with it. Physical confrontations between leaders were unheard of, so a fight would strikingly dramatize the seriousness of the conflict. But the fight was forestalled. Polehepewa (Eagle clan) a member of Kewanimpewa's group, spoke up, addressing Kewanimpewa:

Why are we staying here? Don't you already have a place picked out for us to move to? Isn't it in your plans for us to move out anyway? (translated from the Hopi).

In this way, Polehepewa unwittingly revealed that the fight was part of a plot.

The situation had reached a boiling point. The missionaries were highly alarmed. J. B. Frey, the missionary at Moencopi, wrote to the Menomonic Board.

All the Moencopis have gone to Oraibi and it is very quiet here. In all the conversations with them before they left it came out loud

Clan	Name	Approximate Age in 1909*
Badger	Talaswulioma	70
	Nasiqaprewa	50
	Tawahongyoma	42
	Pongyaquaprewa	40
	Talashoyoma	41
	Saqöiva	41
	Tawayesva	31
	Joshvenka	61
	Quavenka	37
Eagle	Nasingainewa	79
	Polheptewa	35
	Katsimmana	85
Rabbit	Sikyahongnim	40
Parrot	Lomanaku	82
Kachina	Polingyaoma	42

\* Calculated from 1910 census of Bacavi, 1900 census of Oraibi, and 1892 allotment census.

We have already encountered some of Bacavi's founders in episodes leading to the Oraibi split. Lomahongyoma was the primary leader of the Hostiles in the 1890s and early 1900s. He was put up by the Hostiles as alternative *Kimongwi* to Loololma. He was head of the Spider clan; Spider and Bear were the two most prestigious clans in Oraibi's leadership. Lomahongyoma was the kiva chief at Oraibi's *Mong* (chief) kiva where *Soyalangw* (the Winter Solstice ceremony), probably the most important Oraibi ceremony, was based. He held a role as singer of certain sacred songs in *Soyalangw*. Oraibi had four branches of the *Wuwistin* (Manhood Initiation) society, which met at four kivas: Hawiovi, Sakwalenvi, Tsuu kiva, and Hano kiva. Lomahongyoma was the head of the Sakwalenvi branch of *Wuwistin*. Although its activities lapsed around the turn of the century, Lomahongyoma was also an important initiated member of *Momtiti*, the Warriors' Society. His own mother's brother, Talatima, had been *Momsmongwi*, the *Momtiti* chief, and it is therefore likely that Lomahongyoma held a high-level position in this society. During the

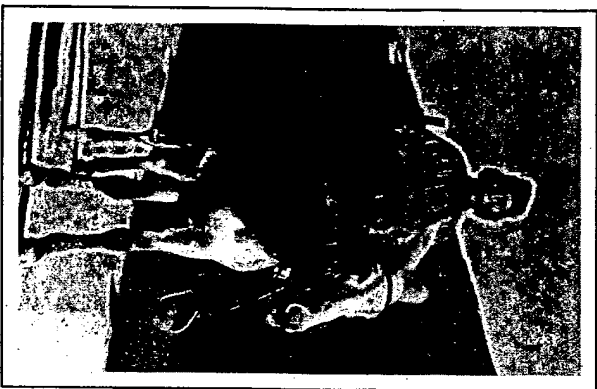
*Momtiti*'s declaration of war against Colonel Corbin's troops in 1891, Lomahongyoma performed the important role of his ancestral spirit, Kookyangowuuti, "Spider Grandmother." Although he had been superseded in the leadership of the Oraibi Hostiles by Yukionna, and although his brother Lomayestewa was attempting to take over some of his ritual prerogatives, Lomahongyoma maintained a powerful role in Oraibi's politico-ritual hierarchy. He was married to Qösyamka of the Desert Fox clan.



*Qösyamka* (Desert Fox clan, wife of Lomahongyoma) carrying piki in Oraibi, 1890s. Photo by H. R. Voth. Courtesy Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas.

The other Spider clan man at Bacavi, Gyashongnewa, was Lomahongyoma's brother and also a man of high standing. He was in charge of the Blue Flute altar at Oraibi and was a member of *Wuwistin* at Sakwalenvi, of *Momtiti*, and of *Nasotnuwuwinkyam*, the Stick-Swallows' Society, a society linked to *Momtiti* that was owned by the Spider clan but which had very few initiates left by the late nineteenth century. Gyashongnewa was also a *tuubkya*, one of Oraibi's few leading medicine men. Later in life, he became *Tööpmongwi*, chief of the Antelope Society, at Horevilla and maintained a residence between the two villages. He was a bachelor for much of his life, though in later years he lived with Kewan-quapnim of the Greasewood clan.

Some writers have suggested that all members of the Bear clan were Friendlies and stayed at Oraibi after the split. This is not the case. Oraibi had two Bear clan lineages, descended from two sisters, Tuvewunka and Tawanimka, who lived until the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Tawanimka was *Kimongwi* Looloma's mother and Tawaquapewa's grandmother. All of those descended from Tawanimka were Friendlies. Tuvewunka had two daughters, Kewanhonka and Talashongsi. Both of these sisters were tied to the Hostile faction. Kewanhonka was married to Pongyalestewa of the Coyote clan. She was one of the women who died mysteriously while making *piñt* (water-bread) in 1909, which contributed to the antagonisms leading to Oraibi's second split. She had a daughter who was then adopted by her sister Talashongsi, who came to Bacavi with her husband, Pongyaguapewa (Badger clan) and their children. So, although nowadays no members of Oraibi's Bear clan live at Oraibi or Kykotsmovi, the Oraibi Bear clan still has direct descendants at Bacavi. Had Oraibi not split, some of these would have been legitimate heirs to the position of *Kimongwi*.

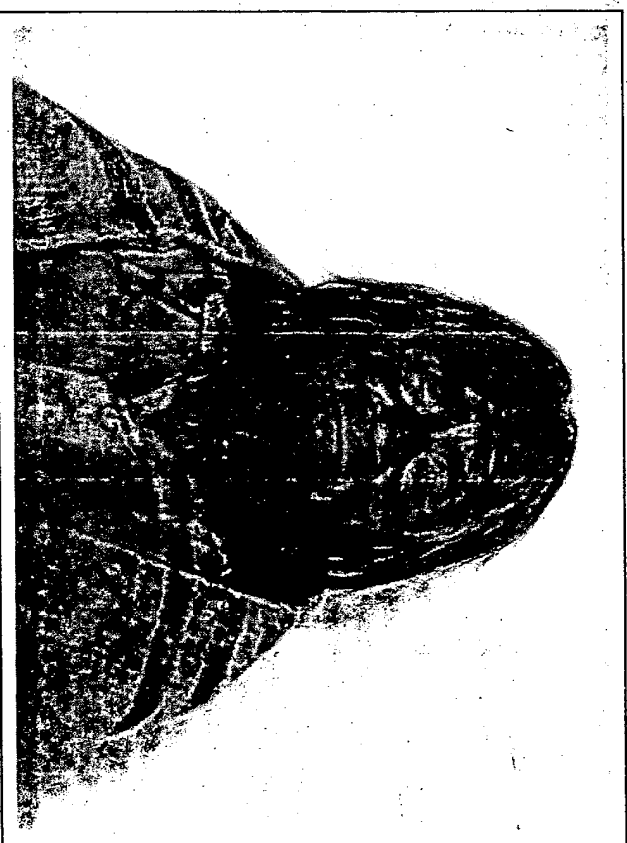


*Kewanimpitewa, ca. 1920-30s, wearing the Indian police uniform for which he was known. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Harry Kewamipitewa.*

Bacavi's preeminent leader until his death in 1947 was Kewanimpitewa of the Sand clan. He was around 35 years old when he came to Bacavi. He evidently possessed powerful charisma and was a highly respected leader. His father, Nawungni'ima of the Kachina clan, had been an important man in Oraibi—the *Katsimongwi*, chief of the Kachina Society. Kewanimpitewa was a *Kuaniitaga*, an initiate of the One-Horn Society, Oraibi's most feared society because of its specialized supernatural powers. Kewanimpitewa had been appointed Indian Judge at Oraibi after the split and later became an Indian police officer at Bacavi, for which he acquired the nickname *Kastila*, "Spaniard," for his association with the Hispanic employees. Apparently, he did not go to Hote-

villa immediately after the split but waited a few days: his political sympathies seem to have lain between the two poles. He was married to Qomani'iniim of the Spider clan, who was of eminent lineage also; her mother, Tuvaaamana, had held the role of *Soyalamana*, "*Soyalangw* maiden," at Oraibi, and her mother's brother was Tuvewuhoma, one of the Hostile leaders who had confronted Cushing in 1882. Qomani'iniim was *Lemmana* (Flute maiden) in the *Sakwalelent*, Blue Flute Society—the only female role in this society. When she reached Hotevilla, Qomani'iniim was heavy with her second child and gave birth to Tsakwani'ima in a lamb corral toward the end of October. The child's naming ceremony, normally 20 days after birth, was conducted after only 10 days because the time came to move back to Oraibi.

Kewanimpitewa's older brother, Qotsaquahu, was another migrant to Bacavi. Qotsaquahu was one of Yukioma's main advisors. They consulted often after the moves to Hotevilla and Bacavi, even establishing fields next to each other in Bacavi Canyon, below a point named Sivuvono, "Sooty



*Masangontewa (Snake clan) in Oraibi, 1890s. Masangontewa was head of the Snake clan and chief of the Snake Society; he was one of the Hostile leaders who confronted Cushing in 1882. Photo by H. R. Voh. Courtesy Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas.*

Stomach," to facilitate communication. In this way, the leaders of both villages had a continuous line of communication and knew what was transpiring on the other side of the mesa. Qötsaquahu was a member of Oraibi's *Wuwitim* at Sakwalenvi, and was charged with the knowledge of many *Wuwitim* songs and rites. When Horevilla began *Wuwitim* initiations in 1924, they had to call upon Qötsaquahu since he was the only one with the knowledge necessary to complete the ceremony. Qötsaquahu was married to Pongyayamka of the Reed clan.

There were several leading members of the Snake clan among Bacavi's founders. Masangöntewa was one of the Hostile leaders who faced Cushing in 1883. He had been *Tuunmongwi*, chief of the Snake Society in Oraibi, and was head of the *Wuwitim* branch based at *Tsun* kiva (Snake kiva) where he was also kiva chief. He held the role of *Qaleetaga*, "Sergeant-at-Arms," in the *Soyalangw* ceremony and was also an initiated member of *Momisti*, the 'Warriors' Society. He was married to Kewanhönim of the Coyote clan. Both were rather aged on arrival in Bacavi and did not live many years after 1909.

Masangöntewa's brother, Tuunuspa, was also an important officer in the Snake Society, an initiate of *Wuwitim* at Snake kiva. Suukaoma was married to Nasimösi, a member of a high-status Gressewood clan lineage. Nasimösi's sister, Jorsmöhini, who died before 1906, had been the female chief-priestess of the *Lakon* society; as Nasimösi also belonged to this society, it is likely she held a prominent role too. Jorsmöhini was married to Patupha, the early Hostile leader of the Fire clan.

The head of Oraibi's Parrot clan came to Bacavi although no other clan members were represented there until somewhat later. Lomanaksu, also known as Melooni and Sitralawwa, was a very important man in Oraibi. He was the chief-priest of the *Lakon* society, a major officer (Parrot chief) in *Soyalangw*, a leading member of *Wuwitim* at Sakwalenvi kiva, and a member of the Blue Flute Society. He was also kiva chief at *Taw* (Singers') kiva. Lomanaksu was chosen as Loololma's godfather and initiated this *Këkmongwi* into *Wuwitim*. Because a godfather plays an advisory role in his godson's life, the choice of a future *Këkmongwi*'s godfather has more than ordinary significance. Lomanaksu gave him the name "Loololma" after the Parrot clan; the name refers to a beautiful design of parrot feathers. Although Lomanaksu initially supported Loololma's position in the factional division, he later felt obliged to switch to the Hostile side. His son, Tawalestewa, was an outspoken critic of Loololma's friendliness to the Government and made a dramatic (though foiled) attack on Loololma with an ax in the 1890s. Both Tawalestewa and Lomanaksu's wife, remembered

only as "Hongsi" (a short form) of the Badger clan, died before 1909, but their other son, Saqöiva, accompanied his father to Bacavi. Saqöiva was one of a few Oraibi men with a herd of cattle prior to the split. He dispersed baked sweet corn to the Hostiles on the day of the split.

Only one member of the Kachina clan came to Bacavi. This was Polingyaoma, known also as Tsali. Polingyaoma was very knowledgeable in religious matters. As with every new village, certain things need to follow the correct ritual; shrines have to be placed properly and other elements consecrated. Polingyaoma took a major role in this process at Bacavi. He also sponsored the building of Bacavi's *Al kiva*, "Two-Horn" kiva. It was named this because Polingyaoma was an *Adalita*, member of *Adal*, the Two-Horn Society. He also became Bacavi's *Katsimongwi*, Kachina chief. While in Oraibi, Polingyaoma had been struck by lightning, an event that conferred upon him special powers to heal certain illnesses. At the turn of the century, he was Oraibi's only lightning medicine man. In later life he had many clients from all over Third Mesa, as well as some Navajos.

The representation of clans changes with the passing generations, accordingly as there are female and male children. As Hopi clanship is matrilineal, there must be a continuous line of females for the clan to persist. Some Third Mesa clans have died out in the present century because the only children born were males. This was the case, as we saw, with Oraibi's branch of the Bear clan, and it also occurred with the Bow clan, of whom there are no living representatives nowadays. In Bacavi's early years, there was a strong contingent of Badger clan men but only two women, one of whom was elderly and the other childless. So Bacavi today has no Badger clanspeople who are direct descendants of these founders. There are Badger people in Bacavi, however; the clan was reintroduced by a Kykoismovi woman who, parting the usual practice, moved to her husband's village after marriage.

The oldest Badger man was Talaswuhoma, also known as Tepko (Gressewood stick) and Kopngala (Pile of firewood). He was a leading member of *Kuakhuant*, the One-Horn Society, and was responsible for building Bacavi's *Kuun*, "One-Horn" kiva, of which he became chief; he headed Bacavi's One-Horn Society while it practiced. He was married to Qöqöisa of the Snake clan.

Nasiquaprewa was another prominent Badger clansman. He became chief of Bacavi's *Powamny* (Bean Dance). He was a member of Oraibi's *Wuwitim* at Sakwalenvi and was one of five Oraibi men who regularly held the office of *Katsimna*, Kachina father, in Kachina ceremonies, a role he continued to play in Bacavi. Nasiquaprewa was one of Kewanimprewa's





Nasiquaprewa (Badger clan), ca. 1920s. Photograph by unknown. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

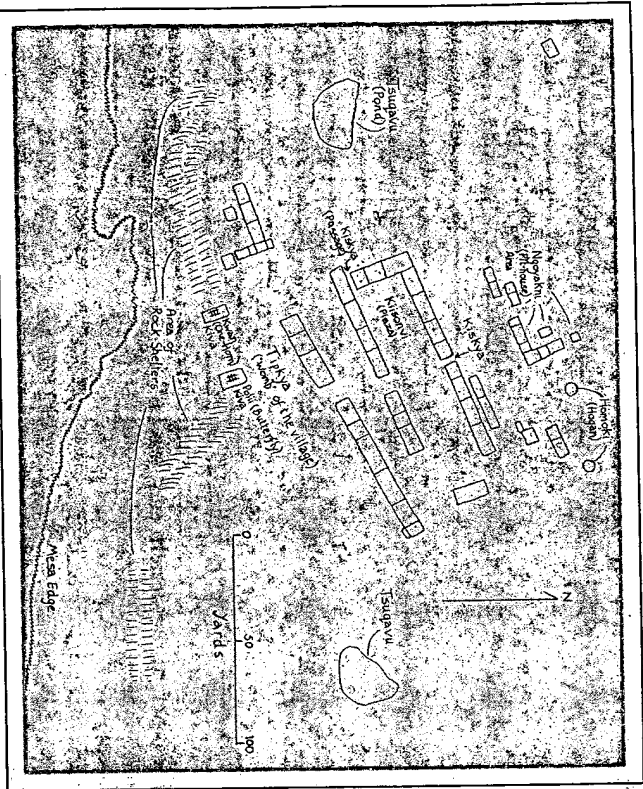
leading aides: in Hopi Agency records of 1910, he is listed as the "sub-chief" of Bacavi. Nasiquaprewa was married to Tawayonim of the Snake clan. His younger brother, Talashoyoma, who was a Two-Horn man, also came to Bacavi with his wife Sikyahongnim (Rabbit clan.)

Another pair of Badger brothers was Tawahongyoma and Pongyaquaprewa. Both were Bacavi's only two practicing members of *Tawawiyama*, the Singers' Society. Tawahongyoma was married to Talasmbisi of the Greasewood clan. Talasmbisi's father was Qöiwisö, Yukioma's brother, and another leading member of the Fire clan. Qöiwisö had another daughter who lived in Hotevilla. In order to be close to both, he built a house halfway between Bacavi and Hotevilla, and spent a lot of time in Bacavi. Pongyaquaprewa (also known as Naquayaoma) had been an active Hostile leader in Oraibi; he was a principal member of the final Hostile council before the split. For this reason, he was one of those sent to Carlisle Indian School for five years. Reporting the split, Superintendent Lemmon described him as a "speech-making agitator who used his ability in making speeches to bring about the conflict that meant the separation of the parties, and the departure of one party from the village" (Lemmon 9-20-1906). After his return from Carlisle, Pongyaquaprewa maintained close ties with Yukioma in Hotevilla and periodically led some opposition to Kewanimprewa's policies. He was married to Talashongsi of the Bear clan.

Of the Greasewood clan, there was only one older man, Na'usitewa, who is also remembered as having held significant ritual office in Oraibi. I am unsure of all his positions although he was an officer in the Blue Flute Society, a member of *Wuwisim* at Sakwalewvi, and of *Momtsi*. He was already very old at the founding of Bacavi and did not live many years thereafter.

There were several Greasewood clan women, however, and this accounts for the fact that Greasewood is nowadays the most populous clan in Bacavi. We have noted Nasimöisi above (married to Suukaoma) and suggested that she was of eminent Greasewood lineage. She was accompanied to Bacavi by her daughter, Tuwayesnim, and granddaughter Sihongsi (married first to Saqöiva, Badger clan, and later to Tawayeswa, also Badger clan). Tuwayesnim left her husband in Oraibi at the split, but his position confirms the high status of Tuwayesnim's lineage. In former times particularly, *paananimom*, the "ruling people," used to marry among themselves; so if we lack other information, we can often infer a person's status from that of his or her spouse. Tuwayesnim's husband was Tomaleotewa, Maasaw clan, chief of Oraibi's One-Horn Society. Another





Bacavi, ca. 1915

for Oraibi allotments when the second split occurred in 1909. Because Bacavi people had agreed to cooperate with the Government, Kewanimp-tewa accepted the plans for allotment. In fact, he made several visits to Agent Horton Miller and to Murphy, to persuade them to allot Bacavi early in 1910, since Bacavi needed to know where it could make fields.

Murphy was not the most competent Government employee and he created a lot of unnecessary problems. He hired his own sons as co-surveyors, paid them very generous wages, and then hired one son's horse team at an exorbitant fee—all at the Government's expense! Then, he kept changing the allotments around so that Kewanimp-tewa could never get a consistent answer from him. Finally, Kewanimp-tewa got so fed up that he protested strongly to the Agent, threatening his resignation as Judge, unless something was done about Murphy's antics.

[Kewanimp-tewa] says that he was appointed judge... and that he supposed that he was given the position because the officials in charge had some confidence in his integrity, and for this reason,

thinks that his word should possess some weight. He says that Mr. Murphy consulted with him in regard to the allotment of the land and then disregarded the advice he had given. That, more than once, Mr. Murphy has given the Bacabi people their allotments, and that they were all happy, but that later he took the land from them and gave them other land that they do not wish and that now they are very unhappy. That twelve men had been thus given land and were told by the Allotting Agent that the Navajos wished the land that had been given to them and that they would have to take other land. He says, also, that some land was taken from the Bacabis after allotment and given to other Hopis. In view of this, he asks that you relieve him as judge, and appoint someone whose word may be of some value. That the money is not much and that he does not care for the place if he may not be of service and have the confidence of the officials (Lawshe 12-10-1910).

In October 1910, Murphy finally submitted a schedule of allotments for Bacavi. To try to secure these, Kewanimp-tewa and several other men set about to fence the area, which was in the northern section of the Oraibi Valley and reflected an exact reversal of the attempted division between Hostiles and Friendlies by Agent Lemmon in 1905. They fenced across the valley, from Tsaktoigwa to Masatigwa; the fence on the east side of the wash still stands. But shortly after this, in January 1911, the allotment program was again abandoned, this time for good. The bales of fencing wire were distributed among the men for their own purposes. So although all Bacavi people were given allotments under this program, and some were issued allotment papers, the allotments were never legally ratified.

Because Bacavi was established rather differently from Oraibi, no *wim-wawwa* (ritual fields belonging to clan leaders) were created, and all fields were individually owned. At first, there were fields right up to the village edges, especially to the north and northeast. Many fruit trees were also planted on the village outskirts, although most have since died.

Fields were also opened in the Oraibi Valley and its tributary valleys, and some men continued to use their former Oraibi fields. Several Bacavi men established fields around *Kwawungwawa*, the old Eagle clan lands, in the northern Oraibi Valley. Others, especially of the Badger clan, went to Pangwuvu, No-Trail Mesa, 10 miles west of Oraibi. This area was first farmed by Polingyaoma prior to the Oraibi split. He invited the Badger clan to come and farm there. This was quite an undertaking at that time as the area was traversed by Navajos who occasionally harassed Hopi farmers. But



*Terraced gardens, Bacavi Canyon, 1929. Photo by L. L. Hargrave. Courtesy Museum of Northern Arizona.*

the farmers were successful and the results of their efforts are still visible in the farms at Pangwuvi today.

The terraced gardens in Bacavi Canyon predate the village. When Bacavi was established, the village women divided the gardens among themselves. From the very first, the terraces provided Bacavi with a fine gardening area.

Corrals were also established around the village outskirts for Bacavi's several sheep herds. Nowadays the corrals are still identifiable though very few are in use.

A boundary line was agreed upon between Bacavi and Hotevilla. For a long time it was believed that Hotevilla people would move on toward Kawesima. But it was not clear when this would occur, so Kewanimpewa and Yukioma met and agreed upon a boundary. Some doubt the existence of this boundary nowadays, but older Bacavi people unanimously agree that it was originally well known to the leading men of both villages. Because decisions by the leadership were not discussed widely in the old days, many of the common people never heard about them.

The boundary follows a northeast-southwest line from Lapusqavu, "Cedar Thicket Pond," to Pusukina, "Drum Springs," across through Owaskavi, "Rocky Cut," to Qoyawöitöia, "Killing Point,"\* and from there to Wisogvöšö, "Buzzard Rincon."

\* This refers to a ritual event conducted during *Wawutim* initiations.

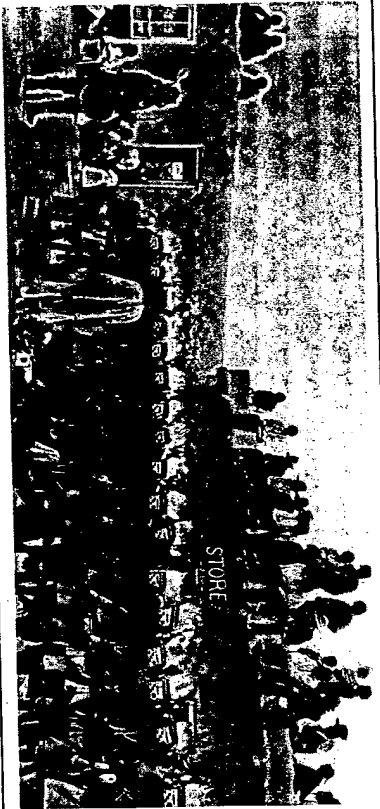
As early as November 1909, Kewanimpewa requested a day school for Bacavi children. The Bacabi Day School was constructed in 1911 with the labor of several Bacavi men. The first teachers, Thomas Lannon and his wife, did not arrive until December 1912. From the time of the village's founding until the teachers' arrival, younger Bacavi children did not go to school at all. This was not without irony. Because Hotevilla parents would not agree to education, their children were rounded up and taken to Kean's Canyon School, sometimes remaining there for years at a time.



*Bacabi Day School, 1911-12. The schoolhouse is at left, the principal's cottage to the right. Photo by Leo Crane. Courtesy Special Collections, Cine Library, Northern Arizona University.*



*Children on the way up Bacavi Canyon from Bacabi Day School, 1911-12. Photo by Leo Crane. Courtesy Special Collections, Cine Library, Northern Arizona University.*



Kooniam (*Hanasupai Kachinas*) in Bacavi, ca. 1925. Visible at rear is the James Brothers' store (see chapter 9). Photo from Dodge Collection. Courtesy Denver Museum of Natural History.

were conducted regularly into the *Powamny* and Kachina societies. Early on, there were also some special Kachina performances that are no longer seen at Third Mesa, such as the *Sooyoko* oges, who came occasionally to frighten the wits out of badly behaved children. *Sooyokos* demand human meat and are put off only after much negotiation by the child's parents. They can still be seen at First and Second Mesas.

Around 1911 or 1912, the older men decided to put on some *Wuwuistim* ceremonies. Lomahongyoma, who had been the head of *Wuwuistim* at Oraibi's chief kiva, became Bacavi's *Wuwuistim* chief. Bacavi also had the chief of *Wuwuistim* from Oraibi's Snake kiva, Masangönteewa, and a large number of other *Wuwuistim* members, including Lomanaku, Na'usiteewa, Tuntuspa, Suukaoma, Qösaquahu, Nasingainewa, Talaswyteewa, Gyashongneewa, Polehepteewa, Saqöiva, Pongyaleisteewa, and Wungni'ima. Also involved with the *Wuwuistim* ceremonies were the members of the three other Manhood societies: One-Horn, Two-Horn, and Singers. There were only four One-Horns, who met at *Kuan* kiva. Kewanimpteewa, Sikyavehema, Talaswuhoma, and Masahongneewa. Talaswuhoma was their chief. The Singers were even fewer: there were only three, and one of these, Lomamsa'ima, was quite old and unable to take a very active part. His two sons, Tawahongionia and Pongyaquapteewa, were the two active Singers. The Two-Horns met in Talashoyoma's hogan. There were only three of these also: Polingyaoma (who was *Almongwi*, Two-Horn chief), Talashoyoma, and Tawayeswa, although occasionally

Shongneewa used to take part (Shongneewa moved back and forth between Bacavi and Hotevilla before finally settling at Hotevilla).

The four Manhood societies performed their ceremonies fairly completely—with private kiva rituals and public performances—up until the mid-1920s and continued to conduct abbreviated performances into the 1920s. After that time, there were no more public performances, with one notable exception. Masahongneewa, a *Kwaniniga* (One-Horn man), continued to conduct his ceremonial responsibilities as a solo effort into the late 1930s. Every year in November he could be seen going about the village in costume with his ritual lance and bell, to visit the various points of religious observance.

Bacavi never performed the Snake and Antelope ceremonies, even though it had Oraibi's Snake chief, Masangönteewa, and in Gyashongneewa the future Antelope chief at Hotevilla.

As for the women's societies, neither *Maraw* nor *Lakon* ever performed in Bacavi even though there were three priestesses of the *Maraw*, and the chief priest of *Lakon*. Several women went to Hotevilla for its *Maraw* ceremonies when these took place. Bacavi did, however, put on *Owaqö* ceremonies, or "Basket Dances" as they are known in English, although there was no real *Owaqö* Society with a permanent chief-priest any more. Prior to 1985, when Bacavi held an *Owaqö*, the last one had taken place in the 1920s.

Bacavi performed the Blue Flute ceremony three or four times. Lomahongyoma was its head and there were several other important participants, including Gyashongneewa, Wungni'ima, Saqöiva, and Na'usiteewa—in fact the most important priests from Oraibi's Blue Flute Society. They created a *Leenungwa*, or Flute Spring, a quarter of a mile northwest of the village on the mesa top. Saqöiva planted several pear trees around the spring to safeguard it and to mark it off as a sacred location. Highway 264 was built through this area in 1959 and not all the trees remain. Saqöiva took care of the spring, and later this duty passed to Wishövi, Lomahongyoma's son. Lomahongyoma maintained his role of chief-priest in this society. About 20 Bacavi children were initiated into it. The first ceremony was probably held in 1911 and the last in 1917.

The Blue Flute ceremony was again the subject of controversy, as it had been at Oraibi during the 1907 performance by the returned Hostiles. Lomayesteewa, Lomahongyoma's brother, was now at Hotevilla. He argued with Lomahongyoma over the rights to the Blue Flute altar. On account of the disputes, many Blue Flute participants withdrew, so at the last ceremony there were only Lomahongyoma, his son, Wishövi, and a

Tables 2 and 3 show how the village's clan composition has changed from 1910 to 1981. The Greasewood clan is the largest by far nowadays, accounting for more than one-third of the population. Originally, the numerical distribution of the different clans was more even. But since there were fewer people overall anyway, clan sizes were all pretty small. So, some clans died out and were "reborn," some simply ceased to exist in Bacavi; others were newly introduced, and still others produced many female heirs who have enlarged the clan size considerably.

Not only have the clans themselves changed, but the *meaning* of clans has changed, too. When the ceremonial system was complete, much of a man's time was taken up by his duties in the religious societies. These societies were owned by particular clans, and the ceremonies in part celebrated clan prerogatives. The Spider clan owned the Blue Flute ceremony, for example, and its performances served to dramatize this clan's arrival at Hopi. In this way the clan's distinctive powers were publicly acted out for all to behold. Without the ceremony, the clan's identity and its meaning have lost this basic form of expression.

Clan members worked together most of all during ceremonies. With the ceremonial decline, joint clan activities have diminished. This is not to say that clans are no longer important: far from it. People continue to take great pride in their clans, and on the ceremonial occasions that do occur—such as Kachina and Social Dances, baby-namings, and weddings—clan ties are very active. It is simply that the number and variety of occasions for clan cooperation have declined by comparison with Bacavi's early days.



*Bacavi, from the southwest, 1938. Photographer unknown. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson.*

Processes of change have had great impact on the village's economic life. Nowadays, everyone is involved in the cash economy: many have jobs or other means of making an income to buy their groceries and other commodities. In turn the old dependency on farming and livestock has diminished. In the past, everybody had to have a corn crop, and beans, melons, squashes, peaches, apricots, and so forth, to sustain themselves. "First and foremost," as one Bacavi man put it, "a Hopi is a farmer." Every Hopi man had his fields and spent a great deal of time tending his crops. Every woman spent a great deal of her time processing and preparing the fruits of the harvest, especially corn.

Nowadays, fewer people farm so extensively, and none is absolutely dependent on subsistence agriculture. Nevertheless, according to a 1981 Land Operations survey by the Hopi Agency, Third Mesa people farm to a greater extent than the other Mesas, and at Third Mesa, Bacavi and Horevilla are the predominant farming communities. So although Bacavi's farming has declined, this is less marked than elsewhere, and its widely attended annual harvest festivals attest to the ongoing vitality of this fundamental feature of Hopi life.

Gardening patterns have also altered. The terraced gardens were used extensively in the past. Early photographs show a beautiful staircase of walled terraces, all full of various vegetables—beans, chilis, onions, a little corn, tomatoes, and peppers. They were watered from the abundant springs that flowed out at various points of the canyon slope. All the women in the village used one or another of these gardens. At the top, there were Bear and Snake women—Talachongsi, Tawanimsi, Nasiwunka, and others. In the middle were some Reed women (Pongyayanka and her daughters), and on it went down to the bottom, with space assigned to all. With the arrival of piped water in the village in the 1960s, many women created a garden right outside their houses and very few continued to use the terraces.

Bacavi also established plentiful orchards of peach, apricot, apple, and pear trees around the village margins. In late summer, the edges of the mesa were completely covered with peaches drying in the sun. The orchards are not so plentiful any more; many trees died in the 1950s from a disease, but others still produce. Sikyavehema (Reed clan) was particularly fond of planting trees and other plants at different spots, to have some special significance. He planted some reeds around the springs to symbolize the meaning of the village name. He also planted a pair of fruit trees, which became intertwined, higher up among the terraced gardens; these had some intended significance that has been forgotten.



### Of Hopi Terms And Place Names

#### A

- Aa'alt, the Two-Horn Society.  
 Aalaitaga, a member of the Two-Horn Society.  
 Alikai'i, "Listen up," announcing the beginning of a story.  
 Al kiva, Two-Horn kiva.  
 Amongwi, chief of the Two-Horn Society.  
 Astotokya, baptismal night-ceremony (of the *Wuwistin* initiations).  
 Atsamali, exact meaning uncertain, it refers to an area of flat rock just to the northwest of Oraibi, where the Hostiles gathered after ejection from the village on September 7, 1906.  
 Awat'ovi, "Bow on Top Place," the name of a Hopi village on Antelope Mesa, east of First Mesa, destroyed by other Hopis in 1700.

#### B

- Bacavi, Reed Springs Village (this is the preferred spelling at Bacavi; according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be '*paagavi*').

#### E

- ep, here, at this place.

#### H

- Hawiovi, "Going Down Place," one of Oraibi's kivas (also the name of one of Hotevilla's kivas).

Hemis, a type of Kachina that is often represented at *Niman* (the "Home Dance").

homoki, hogan (pl. *homokiki*).

Hopinavoti, Hopi knowledge, traditions, and prophetic wisdom.

Hotevilla, Cedar Slope Village (the most common spelling; according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be *Hotevêl*).

Hotevêl, see Hotevilla.

Höwüpa, Dove Springs, one mile to the south of Bacavi.

## I

Iskiva, Coyote kiva, one of Oraibi's kivas (the only one to which the returned Hostiles were allowed access).

Isohi, "Oh dear," "How awful" (an expression only males use).

## K

Kaksintöiga, "Many Kachinas Butte," ca. thirty miles south of Oraibi, where Kachina dances were performed during the Spanish suppression of Hopi religion.

Kastila, a person of Hispanic descent (pl. *Kastilam*).

Kasina, Kachina, a supernatural being represented in ceremonies.

Kasinki, "Kachina Resting Place," where the Kachinas rest during ceremonial performances (literally "Kachina house").

Kasinkitöiga, "Kachina Resting-Place Point," a point south of Oraibi on the mesa top.

Kaisinmongwi, chief of the Kachina Society.

Kasinaa, Kachina father, a priest who takes care of the Kachinas during ceremonies.

Kawestima, meaning unknown, the name of an old village to the north of Hopi, where the Hostiles were supposed to go after the split. It may be identical with Keet Seel or Betatakin at Navajo National Monument.

Kilalwa, "house-building," "village-building" (plural).

Kiisa, hawk.

Kisiwu, "Shady Springs," ca. 30 miles northeast of Oraibi, near the settlement of Piñon.

kisonvi, "plaza."

Kikmongwi, the village chief.

Kigötmovi, see Kykotsmovi.

kiskya, a passage between buildings, especially into the plaza (pl. *kiskisyam*).

Kookop(ngyam), "Fire" (clan); named after *kopngwala*, the smoldering

embers of a fire. The clan took its name upon arriving at the site of a

fire in the Oraibi Valley whose light they thought was Maasaw's fire.

When they reached it, all that remained were the embers.

Kookyangsowuuti, "Spider Grandmother."

Kookyangwungwki, Spider clan-house.

Kooyemsi, "Mudhead" Kachina (from the Zuni; no literal meaning in Hopi).

Koyanisqatsi, life of corruption and decadence, a universal stage forecast in Hopi prophecies.

Kutsiwla, "Lizard Gap," a point ca. two and one-half miles north of Oraibi, along the old wagon road to Bacavi.

Kwakuku, "Eagle Foot" (or "Eagle Footprint"), a mesa-promontory ca. two miles southeast of Bacavi.

Kwakwant, the One-Horn Society.

Kwanitaga, a member of the One-Horn Society.

Kwaawungyasa, Eagle clan-lands, in the Oraibi Valley, ca. five and one-half miles northeast of Oraibi.

Kwan kiva, One-Horn kiva (literally, "Agave" kiva).

Kwammongwi, chief of the One-Horn Society.

kwiningyag, "at the northwest."

kyavaqvi, member of another Hopi village than one's own, stranger (pl. *kyavaqviti*).

Kyepsomovi, "Box-Thorn Hill Place," ca. 40 miles south of Oraibi.

Kykotsmovi, "Ruins Hill Place," also known as "New Oraibi" (this is the preferred spelling at the village; according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be *Kigötmovi*).

## L

Lakon, a women's religious society.

lansa, lance.

Laputsqavu, "Cedar-Thicket Pond," one and one-half miles north of Bacavi.

Leenangwva, "Flute Spring," a quarter of a mile southwest of Oraibi, also another spring, a quarter of a mile southwest of Bacavi.

Lenmana Flute maiden, a role in the Blue and Gray Flute societies.

Lenmongwi, Flute chief, actually the head of the Blue Flute Society.

## M

Maalo, a type of Kachina.

Maasaw, a bloody-headed spirit being, guardian of the fourth world, with power over life, death, fire, and the earth.

Maraw, a women's religious society.

Masaröiqga, "Wing Point," a promontory on Second Mesa, ca. four miles east-northeast of Oraibi.

Maawakatsinki, Maasaw Kachina House, a shrine on the outskirts of a village.

Masiptanga, "Moth Canyon" (literally "moths enclosed therein"), the area known in English as Kearn's Canyon.

Mastopkatsinki, "Death-fly" (species uncertain) Kachina House, a shrine on the outskirts of a village.

Mishongnovi, a village on Second Mesa (according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be *Masangnuvi*).

Moencopi, "Continuously Flowing Water Place," Hopi village next to Tuba City (according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be *Mungapi*).

Momona, a Mormon (pl. *Momonam*).

Momisti, the Warriors' Society.

mong, chief (adj., as in *Mong kiwa*, Chief kiva).

mongwi, chief (noun; pl. *momngwi*).

Motsn(katsina), "Disheveled" Kachina; a Kachina that comes to ensure that springs and ponds are cleaned out.

Motsmongwi, chief of the Warriors' Society.

motsni, strike.

Mumuswa, "Marsh Spring," ca. three miles west-northwest of Oraibi.

Musairnski, Buffalo House, a shrine on the outskirts of a village.

## N

naatsikya, (verb, pl. ending) separate, part.

Nasotanwiminkyam, the Stick-Swallowers' Society, closely associated with the Warriors' Society.

Natnga, imitations into the *Wuutim* societies.

ngoyakni, pit house.

Niman, the "Home Dance," concluding ceremony of the Kachina season. noq, and.

Nukushotski, "Crooked Piñon Tree," near Hard Rocks, at the head of the Oraibi Valley.

nunungksinom, "the people who arrived last" (when a village is being established).

Nuvautkya'ovi, "Snow Piled on Top Place," the San Francisco Peaks.

## O

okiw antani, "May it be this way," an expression consecrating a desired course of action.

Oraibi, "Place of the Oray Rock" (according to the orthographic system followed herein, the spelling would be *Orayvi*).

Orayve, at Oraibi.

Orayvi, see Oraibi.

Orayvit, Oraibi's.

Owaqöl, a women's religious society; their ceremony is called in English a "Basket Dance."

Owaskyavi, "Rocky Cut Place," a point midway between Bacavi and Horevilla.

## Ö

Öngrupqa, "Salt Canyon" (the Grand Canyon).

## P

Pa'isinyam, "Water Coyote" (the species is probably *Vulpes macrotis*, the Desert or Kit Fox) clan.

paagavi, "reed," "bamboo."

pahoki, "prayer-feather house" (a shrine).

palaki, "red house," the name given to the allotment houses because of their rusted tin roofs (pl. *palakiki*).

Palaktwapi, an ancestral Hopi village far to the south.

Palengawhoya, "Little Echo Boy," the younger of the War Twins.

Pangwuvu, "Big-Horn Sheep Place" ("No-Trail Mesa"), ca. ten miles west of Oraibi.

Paqapsinom, Bacavi people.

Paqapsiqvi, "Reeds-on-Ledge Springs," ca. one mile northeast of Bacavi.

pas, really, truly.

pasuni, ritualized planning of future events.

pavanki, powerful village.

pavansino, "powerful, important person" (pl. *pavaninom*, often translated as "ruling people" or "ruling class").

pawakyaya, swallow.

Pensoiyungkam, "those who have taken the pencil," referring to those Hostiles in Horevilla who signed the Government's agreement and returned to Oraibi.

pilki, rolled wafer-bread; it is sometimes made in a small building known as a *pilki* house.



**Piliyas(ngyam)**, Young Corn (clan).

**Pivanhoktyapi**, an old ruin, ca. three and one-half miles west-northwest of Oraibi.

Polacca, settlement below First Mesa named for the Tewa leader and interpreter, Tom Polaccaca (*Polacka*, following the current orthography).

**Polii** (kiva), "Butterfly" kiva, the first formal name of Bacavi's main kiva.

**Pongovi**, "Circle" kiva, one of Oraibi's kivas.

**Porswinkyam**, an old Medicine Society in Oraibi.

**Powamny**, a ceremony that purifies the earth ("Bean Dance" in English), when children are initiated into either the Kachina or the *Powamny* societies.

**powaga**, "witch," "sorcerer," or unusually gifted person (pl. *powuq*).

**powaqmana**, "witch girl."

**Pöökong**, elder of the two War Twins.

**pu'**, then.

**puma**, they.

**Pusukinva**, "Drum Springs," midway between Bacavi and Horevilla.

## Q

**Qaleetaga**, "Sergeant-at-Arms," guardian, warrior.

**Qaletqumongwi**, the War Chief, head of the Warriors' Society.

**qatupru uy!** "Get up!" (often to a child in the early morning).

**Qööqöqlöm**, "shabby-looking" Kachinas, who perform immediately after the *Soyalangw* ceremony.

**Qöyawöitöiga**, "Killing Point," midway between Bacavi and Horevilla.

## S

**Saalako**, an elaborate Kachina ceremony performed in conjunction with *Niman*.

**Saalaki**, *Saalako* house (a shrine).

**Sakwalelent**, the Blue Flute Society.

**Sakwalenvi**, Blue Flute Place, the name of Oraibi's chief kiva (also given to Bacavi's and Horevilla's chief kivas).

**Sakwattupqa**, "Blue Canyon," about 25 miles northwest of Oraibi.

**Shipaulovi**, "Mosquitoes Place," a village on Second Mesa (according to the orthography followed herein, the spelling would be *Supaulavi*).

**Shongopavi**, "Sand Grass Spring Place," a village on Second Mesa (according to the orthography followed herein, the spelling would be *Songopawvi*).

**Sikyatki**, "Yellow House," an old village east of First Mesa.

**sipaapuni**, the place of emergence, or "earth's navel"

**Sitsomovi**, "Flower-Hill Place," a village on First Mesa (often spelled *Sibomovi*).

**Sivuvono**, "Sooty Stomach," a short bluff immediately south of Bacavi.

**Songoopavi**, see Shongopavi.

**Songoötöiga**, "Sand Grass Point," ca. three miles northeast of Oraibi.

**Sooyoko**, an "Ogre" Kachina, who appears during the period of the *Powamny* ceremony.

**Sopkyawma**, "Everyone Together," a special harvest ceremony.

**Sosyalt**, the *Soyalangw* Society.

**Soyalangw**, a major ceremony around the time of the Winter Solstice.

**Soyalmama**, "Soyalangw maiden," a female office in the *Soyalangw*.

**Soyohim**, "Mixed Kachinas," many different kinds of Kachinas who dance together.

**sukavungki**, "commoner village," without any of the higher religious societies or ceremonies.

**sukavungsinom**, "common people," those without offices in the religious societies or without significant social or supernatural power.

## T

**Taatwkyam**, the Singers' Society.

**Taga isngyam**, "Man Coyote clan," a branch of the Coyote clan.

**Tasapkatstinam**, "Navajo Kachinas," a type of Kachina dancer.

**Tasavam**, literally "Navajos," also refers to those performing a certain kind of Social Dance, i.e., Navajo Dancers.

**Taw kiva**, "Singers'" kiva, one of Oraibi's kivas (also the name of a Horevilla kiva).

**Tepwungwki**, Greasewood clan-house.

**tingavi**, a special ritual plan; also used to refer to the planning of a ceremony.

**tiiponi**, special clan or religious society emblem, "fetish."

**tipkyä**, the "womb" of a village.

**tootsa**, hummingbird.

**tootsaism**, "tyrants," "dictators."

**Tsaksimongwi**, Crier Chief, announcer of special ceremonies.

**Tsaksimöiga**, "Crier's Point," ca. two miles northeast of Oraibi.

**Tseeveyo**, a fearsome Warrior Kachina who carries a sword.

**Tsöпки**, Antelope House, a shrine on the outskirts of a village.

**Tsöpmongwi**, chief of the Antelope Society.

**Tsukumongwi**, Clown Chief, in times past Chief of the Clown Society.

tsugavu, pond.

Tsutkut, the Clown Society.

Tsuu kiva, "Snake" (more properly, "Rattlesnake") kiva.

Tsuunomngwi, chief of the Snake Society.

tunatya, an idea, the germ of a plan.

Tutuwa, "Markings Rock," ca. one mile northeast of Bacavi ("Navajo

Barle-line," or "Comanche Barle-line" in English).

tuhkya, "medicine man."

Tuwanavi, the "earth's center," at Third Mesa, ca. two miles south of Oraibi (there is another place by this name at Second Mesa).

## W

Wakasva, "Cow Springs," ca. 40 miles north-northwest of Oraibi.

Walpi, "Place of the Gap," village on First Mesa.

wim, "religion," "religious practice."

Wimnomngwi, the chiefs of the religious societies.

winnavaasa, "Ritual Fields," pertaining to the religious societies.

Wisqvosö, "Buzzard Rincon," ca. one and one-half miles south-southwest of Hotevilla.

wu'uya, ancestral spirit, "totem," of a clan.

Wuwtsim, major Fall ceremony involving the participation of the four

*Wuwtsim*, "Manhood Initiation," societies: the *Wuwtsim* (the

*Wuwtsim* Society proper), *Adait* (Two-Horns), *Kuabuwant* (One-Horns), and *Taataukyan* (Singers).

Wuyo kiva, "Old kiva," a nickname for Bacavi's main kiva.

## Y

Yaayat, a religious society specializing in magic and conjuring.



## Mentioned Throughout The Text

(Orthographic corrections, when necessary, follow in brackets.)

**Heevi'ima:** Fire clan, War Chief, major Hostile leader in the 1880s and 1890s.

**Hunmieswa:** Sun Forehead clan, son of Tawahongnewa, a leading member of the Second Mesa Hostiles who moved to Oraibi in 1906.

**Kewanimptewa (Kuwannömtiwa):** Sand clan, spokesman and leader of the returned Hostiles in Oraibi, later chief of Bacavi.

**Lomahongyoma:** Spider clan, Flute Chief, major Hostile leader (Hostile *Kimongwi*) in the 1890s and 1900s; an important member of the Bacavi faction.

**Lomayestewa (Lomayestiwa):** Spider clan, Lomahongyoma's brother, a major ally of Yukioma responsible for inviting the Second Mesa Hostiles to move to Oraibi in 1906; he attempted to take over his brother's position as Spider clan chief.

**Loololma:** Bear clan, *Kimongwi* of Oraibi from the 1870s until his death in 1904; preeminent leader of the friendly faction.

**Masangöntewa (Masangöntiwa):** Snake clan, chief of the Snake Society, a major Hostile leader in the 1880s and 1890s; an important member of the Bacavi faction.

**Naquavehema (Nakwawe'ima):** Eagle clan, a major Hostile leader in the 1900s, later a prominent and influential man in Hotevilla.

**Patupha:** *Kookop* clan, the most powerful Medicine Man in Oraibi, major Hostile leader in the 1880s and 1890s.

**Sikyavehema (Sikyave'ima):** Reed clan, prominent aide to Kewanimptewa in Bacavi.